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GERMAN CATHOLICS' DILEMMA

Aurel Kolnai

Wet Laws and Dry Tactics

Stanley High



Gold in Kenya

H. N. Brailsford

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SOCIALISM BY LAW

Forrest Revere Black

Senator, "until we have done something to raise and stabilize the prices of commodities, is not wise from an economic standpoint, and socially it is an iniquity. At the present time we are on the gold standard in this country. The rest of the world, except France . . . is on a managed currency basis. While our dollar climbs in value, their currency is accommodated to their economic situation. The result is that we are not only losing our foreign markets, but we are losing our domestic markets."

Passing over the ambiguity of the Senator's reference to a "managed currency"—for he uses the term not in the sense it is employed by many of those who wish a permanent new monetary standard other than gold, achieved by international cooperation—it is obvious that, as monetary experience has shown more than once in the past, the world cannot go along with such vast differences of currency values and escape dire upsets. To go off the gold standard might, conceivably, at one time have benefited our export trade; but now so many other countries are off gold that we should hardly profit in that respect at all; furthermore, Britain's exports have not gone up, but have on the contrary fallen. To devalue the dollar is a drastic process, hard for the public to grasp, and certain to be opposed by powerful interests, for example those holding gold-secured bonds. In all probability the simplest scheme to restore values is reflation to the approximate price level, say, of 1926. It seems all but certain that some inflationary measure, beyond the vast purchase of government bonds by the Federal Reserve Bank, will be voted by the expected special session of Congress early in the spring. The problem is, of course, how best to secure reflation without the risk of going into a wild plunge of endless inflation that would be disastrous in its total effect. But it is certain that the deflation has progressed, even from the capitalist viewpoint, altogether too far, and currency readjustments have long been in order. We can only hope that they will not become footballs of sectionalism and wildcat schemes for lifting the country out of the depression by its boot-straps.

Independence and Dishonor

The more we think about the Philippine independence bill, the more humiliated we become, and we desire to take this occasion to emphasize still more strongly the unsatisfactory provisions in that bill. After having repeatedly pledged independence to the Philippines, Congress has now proceeded, in a basely dishonorable manner, to fulfill this promise. The right thing is done in a disgraceful way.

The Philippine Legislature is empowered to provide for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. Not more than a year must elapse before this action is taken, and a constitution must be drafted

within the following year. If the form of the constitution is approved by the President of the United States, it is then to be submitted to the people of the Islands, and their approval will be considered a final judgment concerning independence. Ten years thereafter, on the fourth of July, sovereignty will be relinquished by the United States and complete independence will be achieved by the Filipinos.

In the intervening years before the final transfer of authority is culminated, the Philippines must continue to grant free trade to American products, although their exports to the United States will be subjected to increasingly severe restrictions. From the beginning of this period their exports of sugar must be limited to 850,000 tons duty free, with regular tariff rates on any excess quantity. Limits are likewise placed upon the amounts of cocoanut oil and fibers admitted without duty. Beginning with the sixth year, a five per cent tariff is to be imposed on Philippine products, and the rate is to be increased five per cent each year until the end of the period. The effect of these drastic provisions may prove to be utterly disastrous to the economic life of the Filipinos. Congress, acting upon the theory that might makes right, has sought to protect both our export and import trade with the Philippines, forcing upon them simultaneously free entrance of American goods and severe restrictions upon exports to our markets. The only justification of this dual provision is found in a cynical disregard of the ordinary decencies of international intercourse. Pending complete independence, Filipino immigration to the United States will be limited to 50 persons annually.

The bill provides that even after full sovereignty has been assumed by the Philippine government, the United States will be permitted to maintain military and naval stations in the Islands. A promise is made that the President of the United States will enter into negotiations with other powers for the purpose of securing the neutralization of the Philippines, without any apparent realization that the maintenance of armed establishments within the Islands by the United States will make such neutralization almost impossible of realization. Armed domination of the Philippines by this country will make a mockery of independence and will prove to be a constant source of friction with Japan.

The argument over Philippine independence has now been transferred from Washington to Manila. It was inevitable that a measure so composed of good and evil as the Act passed over Mr. Hoover's veto should stir expressions of conflicting opinion in the Islands. Articulate Philippine opinion is divergent, and has been for a long time. There has, for one thing, been a vocal group of able leaders who have insisted upon immediate independence, even threatening to start against Uncle Sam a non-violent boycott and non-

coöperative movement along Gandhi's lines. It is in keeping with the whole shameful record of Congress, according to reports which have apparently a reliable basis, that powerful lobbies, acting on behalf of United States-owned Cuban sugar interests, are already busy at Manila seeking to persuade the Islands toward independence on the existing terms, not for libertarian reasons but so that their own pocketbooks may grow stouter with the spoils of their hypocrisy.

Technocracy: A Soothing Syrup?

The debate over Technocracy is progressing with all the passionate irrelevance which seems to characterize popular discussion in this country. Mr. Howard Scott, on his side, aloofly refuses to consider either the detailed discussion of his figures or the plain truth that labor-saving devices build up some employment at least by releasing purchasing power, and airily waves aside the difficulties involved in pricing commodities in terms of energy units. His adversaries, such as Mr. Sloan, of General Motors, on the other hand, seem to be totally oblivious to the breakdown all about them of the capitalistic system of economics and talk as though economic adjustments were smooth and automatic.

And while the mutual obfuscation goes on, the business depression grows deeper and we move through our fourth winter of unemployment, with a fifth and possibly a sixth winter in the offing.

To our mind there are but two answers to our present collapse. Either we must devise an intelligently planned money and credit system which will put unemployed men and idle capital to work producing for human needs, or we must socialize our productive mechanism for the same end. In other words, society must serve as a *deus ex machina* to save capitalistic society from its periodic breakdown by creating at such times fresh monetary purchasing power for socially needed purposes or else step in and manage industry itself. The last development seems almost certain to materialize in the course of time, and unless the first step is taken it will come sooner rather than later.

In either of these ventures skilled engineers will be of vital importance, and their support for a new order is an almost essential prerequisite for its success. But for the Technocrats and the public to believe that the owners of industry will voluntarily abdicate in order that the engineers may run society is but another outcropping of that wildly romantic optimism which has so befuddled the American mind and made us the largest consumer of patent medicines in the world. Power will not be won save by struggle and organization. What we need in this country is a militant organization of workers by hand and brain into unions, bodies of the unemployed and active political parties. If final catastrophe should come, only such bodies as these could save society from dissolution and terrorism, and organ-

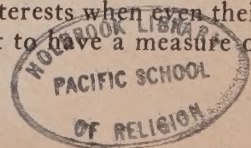
ize it effectively for the future. To the degree that the gospel of technocracy may energize men and women to participate in this active fashion it will be a boon. But if we expect that the walls of Jericho will fall with the mere blowing of the Technocratic trumpet, then we shall indeed be deluging ourselves and be swallowing another of the social nostrums which we have for long depended upon to get us out of our difficulties.

Salvation from the Scientists

The conclusions of the President's Commission on Modern Social Trends have already been discussed in these pages. It may be valuable, however, to call attention to the reception which has been accorded to the report of the commission by the social scientists and educators. While a few critical voices have been raised, the report has on the whole been received with pæans of praise and satisfaction. The liberals and the social scientists have expressed their great pleasure over the fact "that we now have authoritative data" on which to base scientific social conclusions, and have welcomed the commission's very tentative suggestion that there ought to be some kind of social and economic planning.

These songs of praise are a complete revelation of the unrealistic thinking of most of our liberal social scientists. It would be well to recall just what it was the commission discovered and what it recommended. It discovered that the present economic system fails to provide employment because it does not raise the living standards of the workers high enough. It furthermore came to the conclusion that there is little prospect of raising both profits and wages. It therefore decided that the nation must anticipate a permanent unemployment of five million men, for whom adequate social insurance must be provided. In other words, the commission accepted the capitalistic system even though it convicted the system of inability to provide for the employment of at least five million men. Rather than change the system, it suggested that capitalism perpetuate itself by making at least a minimum provision for the permanently unemployed.

That is the sum total of the counsels of the scientists who are so certain that we could have a much better world if ignorant men would only permit the social scientists to do more thinking for them. And such are the counsels which the whole fraternity of social science, with few exceptions, welcomes with enthusiasm. There could be no plainer proof of the Marxian theory of class interest and no more dismal justification of the opinion that the so-called objectivity of social science is largely illusory. Nothing offers more conclusive proof than this report that capitalism will not reform itself from within. What can one expect of the actual owners of power by way of intellectual and moral detachment from their economic interests when even their academic spokesmen, who ought to have a measure of



detachment if only by virtue of their academic pursuits, can envisage nothing better than a capitalistic system which will make itself sufferable by mitigating its anarchy in a slight measure through voluntary planning, and by softening the cruelty of its injustice through a modest dole for its unemployed?

The Farm Crisis

The embattled farmers of Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas are revealing what happens to law when the legal machinery lags too far behind the economic and political realities of the moment. The present law provides for the sale of farms for non-payment of taxes and the foreclosure of mortgages upon failure to pay interest. The legal machinery which is being used to divest the farmers of the ownership of their land is very old and its legitimacy is assumed in the whole of modern civilization.

But the farmers care less and less about the ancient prestige of the law. What they know is that it is impossible to pay either interest or taxes at the present level of prices for farm products. Their effort to secure cancellation of debts or reduction of interest have failed thus far, and Eastern insurance companies and banks are still trying to sell farms to realize on unpaid mortgages. But at this point the farmer is beginning to take the law into his own hands. Thousands of farmers in the four states mentioned have joined the Farmers' Holiday Movement. The movement began in an effort to raise prices by restricting supply. It has devoted itself lately to the problem of halting tax and mortgage sales. The militant farmers are not permitting such sales and the methods they use to prevent them are not legal and not always pacific. They are beginning to show results. In more than one state legislature frantic efforts are being made to provide legal escapes for an intolerable condition so that the farmers need no longer to seek extra-legal means. There is a neat lesson in all this for the whole future of our civilization and for what must inevitably happen when a social and legal system fails to square with the necessities of the hour.

Cuba "Libre"

What is unquestionably one of the worst tyrannies in the world—which in recent times has had examples of tyranny in abundance—is in the saddle in Cuba. For several years evidence has been accumulating that President Machado, that vest-pocket Mussolini, is able to keep himself in office and his sycophants in power only by repressions of the direst kind. One after another, movements of student youth, working class young people, professional men and others have arisen with the aim of effecting an overthrow of the despotic Machado regime. But whether these rebellions have been characterized by violence or merely by protests

against reaction, they have been put down by the mailed fist.

So critical has Machado's position finally become that not only has he clamped on a local censorship—there is little new in that—but he has denied entry to newspapers and magazines which reveal conditions in the island or even describe the details of the censorship!

Because we cannot of course countenance armed interference, and because we do not even support our meddling in Cuban affairs under the terms of the Platt Amendment—which makes Cuba virtually our vassal state—it does not follow that we believe nothing can be done. We believe that our government, by every peaceable means, should undertake, in full coöperation with other Latin American countries, to bring joint, coöperative pressure on the Machado regime, trying at least to be as assiduous in combating tyranny as we have, by our own imperialism, so frequently in the past been guilty of promoting it.

It is one of the most ironic things imaginable that Spain, which was Cuba's oppressor a generation ago, now adopts the role of a progressive nation protesting against Cuban despotism. Ostensibly over the death of a young Spaniard in Cuba because of alleged participation in anti-Machado activities, the Spanish government is demanding a substantial indemnity and bringing pressure upon the dictator. But there is far more behind the Spanish gesture than merely what is discernible on the surface. It is, assuredly, a direct attack, through diplomatic means, on the kind of rule which has disgraced Cuba in recent years.

Spain's Rebels

When rioting and violence break out in Spain, decorous newspapers which have steadfastly relegated the new republic's achievements to page 23 suddenly tear open the front page and find plenty of room for the savory details. Likewise the correspondents who veer about from tea at the American clubs to dinner at monarchists' villas, suddenly lose their restraint and boredom, and spring alertly to the cables.

For that reason, the press-reading public has undoubtedly tended to exaggerate the extent and severity of the disturbances which recently took place over many parts of Spain for several days. It is true that in certain cities and towns the violence became so great that altogether some 70 lives were lost. But such outbreaks were almost inevitable; they were duplicated in the days before Primo de Rivera's dictatorship began, nor were they wholly stamped out then.

To understand the Spanish riots it is necessary to go back to the split which occurred in the First International, when Spanish delegates from Madrid elected to follow Marx and those from Barcelona backed Bakunin. Curious as this survival seems, there grew up at Madrid a strong center of socialism, but at Barce-

lona, sometimes philosophical but often violent, a great movement of anarcho-syndicalism. The proponents of this latter social doctrine are numerous today, united in the Confederation of Labor, resenting the Socialist influence in the central government, and determined to crusade not merely for more radical economic change but for the abolition of political government. With this movement the central regime has been able to cope, largely because the General Union of Workers, which is for the most part Socialist, far outnumbers the anarcho-syndicalist forces. But these are still powerful enough, and have so reached out across most of Spain, that they can put up a formidable struggle. Just as they launched a great campaign of strikes, accompanied by occasional acts of terrorism, in September, 1931, only five months after the revolution, they have lately shown their hand again. That there is any appreciable element of Communist strength within their ranks is extremely doubtful; for while the Communists have had some accessions to their numbers, and while there have been a few importations of Communist leaders from outside, Spanish communism is torn by dissension and is alien to the mood of the liberty-loving Spaniard. Out of 80,000 municipal councillors voted for at the time of the revolutionary elections, only 23 Communists were victorious.

But the disruption of Spanish life is aimed at the present regime, and is due as much to political purposes as to economic unrest. It is true, however, that if the Azaña government does not hasten to push through as vigorously as possible the economic program it has begun, there will be legitimate grounds for complaint added to the grievances which now so largely derive from political differences.

At any rate, American observers should maintain a balance in reading the news from Spain which few newspaper editors display in handling it. All in all, the Spaniards have, for so short a time and under such difficulties, accomplished miracles. And in spite of defects and mistakes and weaknesses, the Spanish situation holds out great promise for the world.

It Would Be Cheaper!

It is to be hoped that the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* did not overlook the significance of the admission by a recent defender of the Big Navy policy that we do not need a fleet primarily to protect our shores from invasion, but rather to uphold our national policies. In discussing the reasons for our entrance into the World War against Germany, Mr. Albert W. Atwood says categorically that "invasion of our shores was not threatened at all." The purpose of our navy, in the opinion of this writer, is to assure the protection of our national interests. His exact words deserve attention:

Plainly, then, a Navy is for more than the defense of over-

seas possessions, foreign trade or even coastwise commerce. Its further purpose is to support or implement the whole complex of numerous national policies which have grown up, rightly or wrongly, fairly or unfairly, through the development of political, economic and social forces. A Navy does not advocate or question these policies; as a servant or instrument of civil authority, it aims to have them peacefully respected, if possible; if not, it fights for them. If we do not want a Navy, let us change these policies which are part and parcel of a century and a half of national growth.

That these words should appear unchallenged in the journal which has the widest popular following in this country possesses great significance. Apparently the writer and the editor have never so much as heard of the Pact of Paris to which the United States solemnly appended her signature, because the very purpose of the Kellogg Pact is to renounce war *as an instrument of national policy*. At the moment when Japan is being condemned by world opinion because of her flagrant violation of the Kellogg Pact, an American writer in a highly reputable periodical actually maintains that the purpose of the Navy is "to support or implement the whole complex of numerous national policies which have grown up, rightly or wrongly, fairly or unfairly." Yet the American people are blissfully free from a sense of guilt produced by crass hypocrisy!

This same writer drags out the hoary argument that the cost of our participation in the World War was due to lack of preparedness, that we could have kept out of the War altogether if we had been so strongly armed that no nation would have dared to attack us. That, on this basis, only one nation in all the world could be adequately prepared, seems to be overlooked by militarists, as is also the further fact that superior military or naval strength by one nation is certain to provoke an alliance or coalition against it. But the most serious oversight is found in the refusal to recognize that there is a much cheaper and more effective means of protecting our national interests, and that is by abandoning the policy of armed intervention in behalf of our national interests, and placing reliance in agencies of international justice.

If it is true that the United States does not need a navy for the protection of our shores from invasion, and that at least a portion of our expenditures for the army are in the nature of preparedness to protect our over-seas interests, then this country is spending an excessively extravagant sum as insurance against loss abroad. The navy alone is consuming more than three billion dollars per decade. Does any man in his right mind believe that our citizens abroad or upon the high seas would suffer loss to this extent if we completely abandoned the use of armed force in their behalf? There is unconscious logic in Mr. Atwood's words: "If we do not want a Navy, let us change these policies . . ." Why not? It would be cheaper in money and in blood.

Socialism's Four-Year Plan

CHIEFLY due to deliberate sabotage, if not downright misrepresentation by local officials, the Socialist vote throughout the country was minimized in early reports. Not only that; even after weeks had passed since the election, the Socialist figures were still being reported very far below actuality. The same is true, of course, with most of the other minor parties. For a short time following Election Day, even the hardest political observers, who knew from experience what to expect, were inclined to place the Socialist total as scarcely higher than 700,000 votes. The best figures we have been able to discover—there is still a certain amount of confusion in computation—places the vote at above 900,000. When it is remembered that Oklahoma, by a partisan ruling of its Supreme Court, made it necessary for Socialist voters to write in the names of their candidates, and that various other ballot difficulties were met in at least four other states, the showing is far from as bad as many have been insisting whose opinions have been based on fallacious statistics. It is well known, too, in this as in all previous elections, that there was cheating at the polls. New York's interest in finding out how many votes were really cast for McKee in the mayoralty contest is already piling up evidence to show that in that city alone the loss of votes to the minor party tickets by cheating will run into the hundreds and probably thousands. Testimony of the most convincing character, resulting in the indictment of 44 officials thus far, points to the rejection, in some of the city's districts, of all but Democratic and Republican votes, and, through an unholy alliance, the complete reapportionment of these ballots so as to show a ratio of 60 per cent for the Democrats and 40 per cent for the Republicans. That this sort of thing happened in more cities and towns than one is certain; in fact, nothing so intensifies the justifiable suspicions of radicals as the lateness with which the final figures were made available to the public. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that if all votes were included which, through old-party manipulation, were barred or not counted, the total Socialist count would have approximated a million.

There is an element both of satisfaction and of distress over figures recently published by the national headquarters which reveal that for every member of the Socialist Party in this country there are 56 voters who supported the Socialist ticket last November, and 43 readers of Socialist or Socialistic newspapers. It is only amazing that so wide an influence should be exerted by a party with so relatively small a dues-paying

membership. But on the other hand, the need is demonstrated for a great multiplication of actual party members. Not merely the need; also, as the organization committee of the party, headed by Mayor Daniel Hoan, has been pointing out, the opportunity.

Not the least encouraging thing about the growth of socialism in the United States is the sustained interest shown following the election. Many commentators have assumed that once the voting was over, the enormous augmentation of Socialist locals would cease. Instead, in almost every quarter locals have continued to multiply, and new zest is manifested. The organization committee has now launched an ambitious four-year program which envisages the distribution of 5,000,000 pieces of Socialist literature of all kinds during 1933, 10,000,000 in 1934, and 50,000,000 in 1936. New members are called for at the rate of 10,000 in 1933, rising to 80,000 in 1936. Propaganda meetings are scheduled to rise from 24,000 to 200,000 in the same period, study classes from 1,000 to 8,000, and contacts by speakers or literature with various labor and fraternal organizations are planned to increase from 10,000 to 100,000.

These figures, like those of Russia's Five Year Plan, are set forward as a goal, and are not to be taken as prophecy. Unlike the Soviets, the Socialist Party of America must rely entirely upon good will, loyalty, persuasion, and skillful organization to approximate this program. But there is little doubt that it can be achieved in full, given the right leadership locally as well as nationally, and given, too, the appropriate social conditions. More significant, perhaps, than the laying down of a far-flung outline of accomplishment, is the concrete detail in which the locals are being aided and stimulated for 1933. Fearlessly declaring that a rigorous program is necessary, not merely to build up existing and new branches, but also to weed out deadwood, the committee has formulated definite steps in advancement for local leaders and has offered attractive honorary rewards.

This, we submit, is going at the problem in the right way. There are, however, certain further things that must be done. The whole technique of utilizing local conflict situations needs exploration and definition; the development of cultural and recreational activities, especially through youth, affords a profitable field for inquiry; and most urgently of all, there is a crying demand for an educational method that will raise Socialist papers, meetings, and leadership in local communities, to a far higher level of taste, efficiency, and popular appeal.



as Brailsford sees it

GOLD has been found in Kenya. So on this remote province of British East Africa the world's chaos descends. Gold, since the slump overtook us, has become abnormally valuable. No fresh use has been found for it: indeed we have all ceased to use it for coinage. But the nations which stand in the van of civilisation have developed the eccentric habit of storing it in bank cellars. Every week it races in fast ships from London to New York, and the Kentish farmer looks up from his plough at the airplanes that carry it from the Bank of England to the Bank of France. It will pay men to hurry in search of it to the heart of Africa. Geologists, who failed to notice it a few years ago, have subjected the rocks of the tropics to a more sensitive assay. Here, ignorant of economics, lived African tribes which have tilled this too valuable soil since the Bronze Age. On their ancestral lands, amid the shrines where their deified chieftains are buried, the desecration of the Gold Rush has descended. The prospectors are among them, staking out their claims, blasting the rocks, trampling the crops, debauching the women.

Reading the news, one seems to be studying the histories that tell of the early decades of the capitalist epoch in Europe. There is the same predatory violence, the same indifference on the government's part. One is surprised, but astonishment is hardly justified. The men who are making the Empire in Africa today are the great grandsons of the men who made Victorian England. Their ancestors founded the family fortunes by robbing the English peasant of his common lands, till hunger drove him to the Lancashire mills. They exiled the crofters of the Scottish Highlands and islands to Canada, that they might turn their tilled lands into sheep runs. You may read in the Hammonds' books, or in the historical chapters of Marx, how in these ways out of a peasantry a landless proletariat was formed. That process has long been at work in Africa; gold has but hastened it.

Kenya has the misfortune to possess a pleasant and healthy climate. In its temperate Highlands white men can thrive and rear children. The result is that imperialism has shown itself in this region of Africa a more ruthless and oppressive master than on the West Coast, where white men cannot settle, and the British administration has cared with relative enlightenment

Gold In Kenya

for the welfare of the nations. The tribes of the Kenya were frankly dispossessed of all the land in the temperate zone suited for settlement by whites. Some remained as tenants and

hired labourers on land which they formerly owned. Eventually land was reserved for the majority of the natives in regions which did not attract settlers, either because they lacked water, or were hot and low-lying or remote from the railways.

TO compel the natives to quit their reserves during part of the year and work on the coffee plantations heavy direct taxes were imposed. These amount to 28 shillings a year, though the average peasant family income is only 72 shillings. By wage labour a native may earn eight shillings a month. Careful estimates based on official figures show that the white settlers, who escape any income tax whatever pay six per cent of their income in taxation, most of it indirect. The native pays 40 per cent, and what he pays goes largely to build roads and railways planned to serve the white man's plantations. In addition to these taxes in money, the native must submit to 24 days of forced labour every year. Nor is this all. Whereas in West Africa and Uganda the Administration does much to foster native agriculture and to encourage the growth of the more profitable crops, in Kenya the natives are actually forbidden to grow coffee. The process of making a landless proletariat goes forward without pause or mercy, and the law is always behind the settler. No native may leave his employment during the period of his contract, which often runs for a year, without his master's leave, and if he runs away he may be fined and imprisoned.

Belated efforts have been made, indeed, from London to improve the lot of the natives, thanks chiefly to the writings of a Socialist physician, Dr. Norman Leys, who served many years ago in Kenya. A Tory Minister, the Duke of Devonshire, issued in 1923 an official memorandum which declared that Kenya is "primarily an African territory," and "that the interest of the African natives must be paramount" and must "prevail wherever they conflict with those of the immigrant races." In a further memorandum, published in 1930, Sidney Webb for the Labour Government repeated this salutary doctrine and went on to define the conditions under which the natives should hold their

reserved lands. "The first essential is to remove finally from the native mind any feeling of insecurity in regard to his tribal lands." These "are reserved for the use and benefit of the natives for ever."

The memorandum foresaw, however, that it would sometimes be necessary to expropriate plots of native land "for new purposes of public utility." It went on to enumerate these—a school, a hospital, a post-office, water or electricity works. But expropriation, it declared, should never be "permitted for the mere private or personal profit of any individual." When it is proposed to take native land for some public purpose, the Administration must conduct a public enquiry and obtain the consent of the local native council. Moreover, in such cases the rule is laid down that the total area of native land must never be reduced. Alternative land of equal extent and value must be provided, with some additional amount as compensation for disturbance. Finally the government must pay the cost of removing the natives to their new homes.

SO the law stood in Kenya till gold was found on the reserved lands of the Kavirondo, quiet agricultural tribes, inhabiting a densely peopled area, where they must wring a living from holdings that average only four acres per head. The prospectors came, and presently the news ran through the terrified villages that their land would be taken to make a gold field.

To do this it was necessary to change the law. This is not a "public purpose"—the gold field will be run for private profit. No native council would have given its consent to expropriation. So the Administration produced an amending ordinance which the Colonial Secretary of Mr. MacDonald's Government has actually defended in Parliament. It sweeps away the condition that the natives through their council must consent. It abolishes the principle that the total area of the native reserve must never be reduced. It makes away with the requirement that alternative land of equal value must be provided. It will be enough to offer compensation in money which will not go directly to the homeless natives, but to a Native Trust Fund, which may use it to build schools or roads. The excuse for this startling breach of faith is that this alienation of land will be "temporary". Twenty or fifty years hence, when the gold field is exhausted, the useless site will return to native ownership.

The natives are told that they may seek refuge on the crowded lands of their neighbours, where already, when the rains fail, famine recurs every third year. They must leave behind them their villages, and the graves of their ancestors, which their religion requires them to honour with worship and offerings. Landless and homeless, they must wander out to seek work in the white man's coffee gardens, which were once their tribal possession. Wages have fallen recently from 12 shillings to eight shillings per month. They will

fall further still. But what can these men do? They might rebel. A squadron of airplanes with machine guns and gas bombs would soon restore order. What no airplane can bring back is the honour of an Empire that promised these lands to the natives "for ever."

There is one faint hope. Public opinion in England is disturbed. The Archbishop of Canterbury has an uneasy conscience about this robbery, and even the *Times* is dissatisfied. No one suggests that the world can live happily without this gold. No one enquires what human end the land can serve as worthy as the growing of food. No one recalls that African interests should be "paramount" when they conflict with those of the immigrant races. But some call for delay, and many urge that alternative lands must be provided. It is probable that Mr. MacDonald will appoint a commission to advise him whether he should break his word. The difficulty is that no vacant land remains. Two thousand Europeans have taken it all. For Africans there is no room.

H. N. Brailsford

London, January 11, 1933.

The Neighbors

OUR New England fathers knew
The nature of the things which grew
Around their lives with leaves and roots.
It was more than planting fruits
On the sunny sides of walls.
When the whippoorwill's low calls
Made the night a time of sadness,
It would have been a piece of madness
To have wild trees above a bed.
So they planted elms to spread
Tents of tame and gentle leaves
Over the ridge-pole and the eaves.
They let the pines alone to be
The murmur of another sea
Deeper than the watery one.
A woman must not bear a son
Too friendly with the trees to fit
With life as men must fashion it.

And yet these farmers knew they should
Keep friends with what so closely stood
Near their houses and their lives.
So it came they let their wives
Put cat-o'-nine-tails, leaves and all,
On the shelf against the wall
In the side-door entry-way.
If something came, it went next day
When the green blades shrivelled dry.
When folk you set small fancy by
Are in your neighborhood, it's best
To let them call, and then have rest.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

Will German Catholics Go Left?

AUREL KOLNAI

AT the present moment counter-revolution is victorious in Germany; but an exasperating struggle is going on between its two wings which may not unreasonably be called the duel between the Authoritarian State and the Total State. For tactical reasons the German Left, as far as it still exists, by no means lends its unconditional support to the exponents of the Authoritarian group which actually controls the state power; nevertheless it is obvious that an established Authoritarian regime, gloomy as is the outlook it opens for democracy and socialism, must be considered immensely preferable to an enduring Total State. For the main difference between the two is that the Authoritarian regime weakens and oppresses the forces of the Left, while a Totalitarian one intends to deprive them of existence.

The present fratricidal war of the two reactionary camps makes it easier to penetrate the very nature of the spiritual difference. In several of his speeches, Hitler, attacking violently his own kin of the "blue" line but devoid of holy "brown," rose to an almost systematic lucidity about the subject. What he had to say amounts briefly to this: The actual rulers are victims to a fatal error in imagining that they can simply bring back the inner order of pre-War Germany. They are absolutely mistaken in hoping that they will be able, in the long run, to govern the state "from above," from the pedestal of an "authority" without any foothold in the masses, let alone to achieve a work of national revival. The longer this experiment lasts, the more it will reinforce Bolshevik opposition. The very project of an authoritarian constitutional reform cannot but prove the bondage of the reactionaries to the pestiferous ideas of liberalism and parliamentarism. Creating an Upper Chamber will only serve to procure for the parliamentary system another leg to stand upon. The Conservatives will literally conserve the democratic system, although doubtless causing it to function even worse than it did before. The well-organized fighting army of the Nazi millions is the only power to annihilate those other millions hostile to the national cause, to extirpate their leadership and to re-integrate the bulk of their masses into the new national Germany; nor will such work be possible unless directed by the genuine leaders of the great national movement, who are of one flesh and blood with its adherents and warriors. It will never prove sufficient to that end to restrict the rights of the Reichstag, to increase the power of the president and the cabinet, and to give the cold shoulder to the circles of the Left.

For by such measures alone the liberal and parliamentary principles of discussion and vote will by no means be weeded out of the tissue of society; and nothing less than that will do. The democratic poison must disappear from even the tiniest town-hall and from all social relations, as well as from the state itself. The whole of national life ought to be imbued with the principle opposed to democracy: responsibility of everyone to his superiors, power of command over those beneath him. The carrying out of this operation demands far more than a mere restoration of pre-War Germany; nay, in some respects it even precludes a complete restoration, for it is of vital importance to conquer the souls of workers and to make them accept the function of being the labor army of the militarily organized nation.

Now it is clear that from the Christian point of view of personality, the Authoritarian State only means reducing the free soul to a state of relative impotence in face of the self-sufficient mechanism of power, while the Total State, as proclaimed by Hitler, means nothing less than the murder of the free soul. The idea of absolutism or of dictatorship alone fails to convey the same meaning. It is the special fascist conception of dictatorship, also called the doctrine of the total state, which not only denies political rights and self-government to men, but also subordinates the whole of their lives to the supreme experience and the entrancing ideal of not having political rights, and teaches them not only to renounce but to despise self-government and to be proud of their own thralldom. They must not simply obey power: they are compelled to worship it; they are not fulfilling the wishes of their masters by mere meekness and submissiveness, but rather by serving them with a kind of wild and rapacious activity.

NOW this is the point where religion comes in. You may consider Christianity as a religion of freedom, provided that you do not mean it in a gross and immediate sense. The fact is that the religious experience of Christianity inculcates into the soul a consciousness of freedom which is bound to break its way through the oppressive superhuman jungle of social relations, there being at the same time no kind of direct connection between Christian religious doctrine and political freedom or social equality. The conservative aspect of the Gospel mentality and of most Christian churches is no less real than the libertarian one. There is no good denying that a certain deep-

founded cleavage exists between the preoccupation with the political and social consequences of the Christian idea of liberty and the pious cult of the divine origins and obligations of the soul, which are the very guarantees of the liberty spoken of. So devout people and the clergy of most churches will seldom object to enduring the injustices of the ruling powers with patience and humility, giving more consideration to their salvation than to their own rights and rightful interests. I do not say that the political attitude of the religious or clerical factors is always conservative, only that it easily may be so and very often is. At any rate, no kind of irreconcilable enmity can arise from that side. But the Total State demands that one identify his salvation with the unlimited rights and the interests, rightful or not, of his "leaders." It may not really abuse the term "salvation," and may make allowances for the idea and the practice of religion, but it clearly claims an absolute devotion to itself, an ecstasy of slavery, intended to be a surrogate for liberty, which is starkly inconsistent with the natural claims of religion upon the soul and with that ultimate assertion of its liberty which Christianity cannot part with. On the surface, fascism may prosecute freethinkers rather than Christians; essentially, its fanatical hatred of freedom menaces Christianity down to its roots.

CATHOLICISM has always been the most concrete, most crystallized, and—if one who is himself a Catholic may say so without offence—most arrogant expression of the Christian spirit. The Church often compromised with princes, and often fought them. Maybe she will even make terms, from time to time, with the lords of the Total State, as has been the case with Italian fascism; in the main, she will have no alternative to offering them the utmost resistance. Indeed, the concessions made to Italian fascism reveal far more the grasping of given opportunities, as well as an expectant reserve, than a real state of harmony. But German fascism does not present to the church anything the church had asked in vain of democracy; and the turbulent "will to power" which the German fascists display is far more radical and more openly pagan than that of their Latin forerunners. We may add that Catholicism is not, in Germany, secured as an uncontested popular religion (great bodies of Protestants are, moreover, ogling with atheism or, worse still, with a national Teutonic contamination of the Christian faith); and that the Nazi doctrine upholds an utterly un-Christian naturalist worship of races supposed to be superior—an aberration into which Italian fascism did not fall.

As matters stand, it is not at all unlikely that Germany will soon be the great battlefield for the struggle between the conception of the Total State, and Christianity, in which the latter, especially in its Catholic form, will be defending the idea of personality and

the claim to liberty. In fact the Catholic party of moderate democracy appears to become the van of the democratic and socialist forces fighting on against the presumptions of counter-revolution.

It is not saying too much to assert that Catholicism would lose its historical meaning if it were to shrink from leading the crusade against the new barbarians of the Total State. Whatever the Church has built up since the days when her Founder walked on earth and the Caesars began to rule would have come into existence in vain if new Caesars,—or, rather, imperious clan-chiefs of a new brand—could make gods out of themselves again in the spheres of Western civilization. The superb universalism of the Church, pledge and nucleus of mankind united and of man's value beyond local limits and rules, can no more be reconciled with the venom of new nationalism than prayer with swearing. The birth and growth of the Church, an autonomous and hierarchic social body apart from the state, determined a reduction of the state from a mystical essence and main purpose of all its subjects' lives to an instrument of the common weal. This greatest revolutionary conquest of mankind is doomed to become forgotten and buried under the rule of all-comprehensive national totality, degrading the individual to a mere particle in one homogeneous and self-asserting system of state aims, if the fascists succeed in getting their heart's desire. The great Catholic idea of interpenetrating hierarchies, of an elastic order of values, of wholesome balances, is threatened with destruction by the perverse engineers of a new and artificial primitiveness who seek to impose upon the souls of men a barren and insane creed of national efficiency and frightfulness.

YET all this I think less important than the one main point, with which I propose to conclude. Catholicism is often denounced for being "dogmatic," and intellectually "intolerant," i.e., for stating, and even claiming, an implicit belief in a definite body of what it calls absolute truths, which in part seem to be closely connected with ordinary human reason, in part apparently lack any such proof, or even transcend the natural order of things. By this kind of belief and by its bold pretension in exacting it, Catholicism is said to oppose and to maim the liberty of the mind. True as this may be in some directions, or rather in certain details, the contrary is precisely the truth in that which is of final importance. Catholic dogmatism has been the most powerful incentive to intellectual freedom and the strongest root of the belief in the sanctity of objective truth and of personal conviction that has ever been at work in the history of mankind. This dogma, which, though narrowly limited in its tenor, lights up the whole of mankind's life, virtually enfranchised life and its different departments from the dim rule of provincial prejudices. By declaring the belief in that

dogma to be a universal and necessary means of salvation, the faith emphasized in an incomparably substantial manner the extreme moral purport of man's clinging to acknowledged objective truth, independent of the views held or demanded by those who rule them at the time or else happen to represent their social environment.

Now there cannot be imagined a more radical defiance of this attitude than the encroachment of the Total State and its rulers upon the spiritual rights of their subjects. For these unhappy creatures are taught and are bidden to hold in scorn the idea of objective truth—truth for all men living, dead and to be born, truth to be known by right thinking and sufficient experience—that idea being despised as “bloodless,” “abstract,” “unvital,” and what-not; and they are expected to convert this cynical denial of anything ever being really true into the fetishism of believing blindly for true what their tyrants choose to be believed and what covers the interests and the prestige of their

“community.” The old oppressive state possibly wished the masses of its citizens to be meek, nay, to be dull perhaps; but the new oppressive state, striving not only to control its subjects, but to swallow their very souls, wishes them to be mad and to be at war with reason. But Catholicism, for all its limiting and transgressing human reason by the light of supernatural revelation embodied in the Church's authority, will always stand for reason and sanity against madness and mental intoxication, and certainly will not tolerate the assumption by the “will to power” of the rôle of suprarational sanctity.

It is by no means improbable that the actual preparations for battle in Germany, in which the Catholic body will be engaged against the Nationalist hosts, will develop into a gigantic warfare that will dominate for a time the face of the earth. It is not impossible either that this situation will turn out to be the beginning of a considerable trend on the part of the Church towards the Left.

Socialism and the Constitution

FORREST REVERE BLACK

ON election day, 1932, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President declared: “If we get 1,000,000 votes we will be moderately encouraged. Every vote over 1,500,000 will be decidedly encouraging. But every vote over 2,000,000 will be cause for tremendous jubilation.” The *Literary Digest* poll had indicated that the Socialists would have “cause for tremendous jubilation.” Thomas actually polled about 906,900, which is more than three times his vote of 1928 but is still less than the Debs vote in 1920, when the total vote was more than 12,000,000 under the 1932 total. If the Democrats had nominated a conservative, the “protest vote” undoubtedly would have been plumped for Thomas. Many Socialists, discouraged by the popular vote for their idol, may turn thumbs down on future political action on the assumption that political action would be futile anyway, because the master minds who framed the Constitution of the United States hopelessly stacked the cards against those who place human rights above the rights of property, and in their despair they may dream of a new deal via the revolutionary route. This attitude raises the interesting and little understood problem of the possibilities of thorough-going socialism under our present Constitution.

Let us examine the facts. Charles A. Beard, in his masterly manner, has shown that the Constitution was essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property

are anterior to the government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities.¹ Four economic interests were adversely affected by the system of government under the Articles of Confederation: (a) holders of public securities; (b) manufacturers and shippers; (c) money lenders; and (d) speculators in Western lands. Of the 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention, 40 were in class a, 11 in class b, 24 in class c, and 14 in class d. Whether we like it or not, the theories of government that most men entertain are emotional reactions to their property interests, and the framers of our Constitution were no exception to the rule. With all of the genius at their command they attempted to form a government that would protect their own interests.

Because of stringent property qualifications for suffrage, not more than one-sixth of the adult males in the country's population participated through representatives in the work of framing and ratifying the Constitution. But the leaders anticipated the time when suffrage might be extended and the “have-nots” would outvote the “haves.” They feared the power of the temporary majority and sought to curb it by three devices:

(1) Under an elaborate system of checks and balances they provided that the members of the House of Representatives should be elected for two-year terms

¹ *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, published by Macmillan, 1913.

by the people; that Senators should be chosen for six years by state legislatures; that the President should be chosen by electors for a four-year term and that the judges of the Supreme Court should be selected by the President and the Senate and should hold office for life. James Madison predicted that under this system there would "be little probability of a common interest to cement these different branches in a common policy."

(2) The second method of curbing the powers of a majority was embodied in the creation of a government of delegated powers and was further strengthened by express prohibitions. The Federal government could not lay and collect "direct taxes" unless apportioned according to population—a limitation which made the exercise of that devastating power practically useless except in extraordinary circumstances. The states, moreover, were prohibited from issuing bills of credit and from passing any law impairing the obligation of contracts. Sir Henry Maine has said of the contract clause, "It has proven to be the bulwark of American individualism against democratic impatience and socialistic fantasy."

(3) Convinced of the rightness of their efforts, the framers sought to curb majorities in the future by making the amending process cumbersome and difficult. No change could be made in the fundamental law by majority vote. The founders distrusted the "divine right of 51 per cent," and provided for amendments only by a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress and a ratification by legislatures or conventions in three-fourths of the states.

THE legal fundamentalists may insist that the Constitution is not a class document because it contains no property qualifications for voters or officers and confers no outward recognition of any economic group, but the history of the debates in the framing and ratifying conventions give the lie to this contention. There is some truth in the suspicion of the tired radicals that the cards were stacked against them at the outset.

Another consideration that has caused many liberals to distrust our form of government, as an instrumentality of class preferment has been the assumption on the part of the Supreme Court of the right to pass on the constitutional validity of legislative acts. At two different times in our history judicial review has become a dominant political issue in national politics. Theodore Roosevelt and Senator La Follette have thundered against our judicial oligarchy. Gustavus Myers, in his *History of the Supreme Court*, declares, "Palpably, a dominant class must have some institution through which it can express its consecutive demands and enforce its will, whether that institution be a King, a Parliament, a Court or an army. In the United States the one all-potent institution automatically responding to these demands and enforcing them

has been the Supreme Court of the United States." Many writers have stressed the background and training and predilections of the personnel of our highest court. Others have inveighed against the judicial expansion of the "due process" clause as an instrumentality for knifing social legislation and impeding social progress.

Granting the validity of all of these claims, it is our contention that the Socialists should not adopt an attitude of intellectual despair. After the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention a friend of the propertied class said to Gouverneur Morris, "You have made a good Constitution." "That," replied Morris, "depends on how it is construed." It shall be the purpose of this article to show that this class document, interpreted by a class-conscious court, has left the door wide open for the adoption of a thoroughgoing system of socialism. The framers and the members of the Supreme Court who believed with Madison that "the first object of government is the protection of the diversity of the faculties of men, from which the rights of property originated," and who feared the tyranny of the propertyless majority, left loopholes in our fundamental law through which a future Socialist majority can drive a coach and four.

ONE of the salient planks in the Socialist platform looks to a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth. Obviously, one of the most effective devices for accomplishing that end is an inheritance tax. By a long line of decisions, state and federal, the law is well settled that an inheritance tax is not one upon property but on its succession, and that the "right" to take property by demise or descent is the creature of the law. It is not a natural right. It is a privilege, and therefore the authority which confers it may impose conditions upon its exercise or deny it altogether. Since an inheritance tax is not a property tax, it follows that the constitutional provisions relating to taxes on property are not applicable. The only obstacle to the inauguration of a policy that will require "each generation to start in its shirt sleeves" is a practical one, namely, the securing of the requisite majority in the legislature.

The Non-Partisan League, in the heyday of its power, put into effect in the state of North Dakota a system of state socialism. The state constitution was amended to the extent of removing the limit of \$200,000 set on the state debt and of adding an authorization for the state to engage in business. The legislature thereupon provided for \$19,000,000 of bonds, and an Industrial Commission was created, having under its supervision a state-owned bank, state-owned warehouses, elevators and flour mills, and a state association for the building and selling of model homes. Taxation for all of these purposes was provided. The Supreme Court of the United States, by a unanimous

decision in the case of *Green v. Frazier*, upheld the constitutionality of this socialist experiment. The constitutional question raised involved a consideration of what satisfies the "public purpose" in taxation. The concept of "public purpose" is an evolving one, and the Supreme Court accepted the judgment of "the local authority, legislative and judicial."

The treaty power under the Constitution may be made into an admirable instrument for carrying out a Socialist policy. Socialism is an international movement and a treaty is an international instrumentality. The activities of the International Labor Office, as an adjunct to the League of Nations, suggest a wide usage of treaties in the future in the field of labor law. The Supreme Court in *Missouri v. Holland* declared that the Constitution provides that "acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land only when made in pursuance of the Constitution, while treaties are declared to be so when made under the authority of the United States. It is open to question whether the 'au-

thority of the United States' means more than the formal acts prescribed to make the convention." One thing is certain: no treaty has ever been declared unconstitutional.

FURTHER instances of socialistic possibilities under our present government are not lacking. The present administration in power at Washington, although ready at all times to give lip service to the doctrine that the government should keep out of private business in order to promote "rugged individualism" and foster private initiative, has been maneuvered into a position, through the activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, whereby at the present time it technically has one of the railroads on its hands and may have more. The "postal clause" has been used by a capitalist government to put the government into the express company and banking businesses. By virtue of the "compact clause" several states, with the consent of Congress, can develop regional planning with reference to such problems as coal mining and water power. Under the policy of "grants-in-aid" subsidies can be granted, subject to such conditions that the ultimate result may be either more effective regulation or government ownership.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that both state and Federal governments, under the present Constitution, have the power of eminent domain. This is an indispensable instrumentality for carrying out any far-reaching political program to the Left. The case of *Mugler v. Kansas*, going further, supports the proposition that a state may constitutionally destroy private property without compensation under the police power, and it should not be forgotten that the police power concept is constantly growing at the expense of the "due process" clause. The case of *McCray v. United States* proclaims the view that there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent the Federal government from destroying a private business by means of the taxing power, at least where the business is such that it may be prohibited by exercise of the police power. Thus, the legislature may "excise" a business to death, since the taxing power is not limited to the raising of revenue but may be used for the purpose of regulation or prohibition.

These considerations are addressed primarily to those who believe that the ballot box and an evolutionary development are to be preferred to direct action and revolutionary changes, and who are saddened by the Norman Thomas vote. Political action under the present capitalist Constitution is an effective weapon to make real the dreams of a better-ordered society.

The Factory



Notice to Our Readers

An index of the 1932 issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW has been prepared and will be sent to all libraries that have been receiving the magazine during the past year. Individual subscribers who wish copies may obtain them upon request.



Not in the

Revision by Peace

Under the heading "Class Struggle and Revision" the magazine *Nepszava*, organ of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, states the Socialist view of the controversial questions of treaty changes in the following significant words: "... We declare once more that the Social-Democratic Party is opposed as strongly as can be to the Peace Treaty of the Trianon. We regard it as an injustice, an illegality and a brutal violation of the right of self determination. This objection to the Trianon Peace Treaty follows inevitably from the fundamental principles of the Social-Democratic Party, which are irreconcilable with the way in which the victorious powers imposed their will upon the defeated nations. We are opposed to every injustice, every illegality, and every frustration of the will of the people by force, and we should be stultifying ourselves if we regarded the Trianon Peace Treaty as 'tolerable' or as a fact which we had to recognize and put up with. ... In principle therefore we share the view of all those who regard the Peace Treaty as an act of brutal injustice and illegality perpetrated against the Hungarian people. ... The Socialist-Democratic Party contemplates the righting of the wrong done by the Trianon Treaty *simply and solely by peaceful means, by a complete realization, in fact, of the principle of national self-determination, that is to say, by a plebiscite. In order to make the application of this principle possible, democracy must prevail throughout Europe. Only a democratically governed country could have an unassailable right to appear before the assembled peoples and demand that the wrong done to its rights and liberties should be corrected.*"

Spanish Delegates to L. S. I.

The conference of the Socialist Party of Spain has appointed Largo Caballero and Fernando de los Rios as its representatives on the executive of the Labor and Socialist International. Because, under the constitution of the L. S. I., a Minister may not be a member of the executive, the Vice-President of the Party, Remigio Cabello, and the General Secretary, Enrique de Francisco, have been appointed as delegate and substitute delegate respectively for as long as the two Ministers continue to be members of the government.

"Move On" Is Standard

Answers received by Senator LaFollette to 2200 questionnaires sent out, for the third successive year, to mayors of American cities, as to how they deal with the homeless unemployed, show that the standard treatment is a night in jail or in a lodging house and an order from the police to "Move on!" Work is provided in far fewer instances than one or two years ago. Local funds are slight, and are reserved for local residents. Applications to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, through the State governors, grow week by week. Transient unemployed men and boys are looked upon as a burden which the city should not be asked to bear. Hence they are treated as undesirable strangers, if not as criminal suspects.

In Insulltown

Chicago's new Post Office has been purposely built without any space for boiler or power plant. By purchasing the current at the schedule rates, the government will lose from \$80,000 to \$115,000 a year, and by purchasing steam there will be an additional loss of \$110,000 to \$120,000 a year. A power and heating plant for the building would cost about \$650,000 and the savings in operation would pay for the plant in less than three and a half years.

Employers Dodging Compensation

How Michigan employers escape the state workmen's compensation act is exposed by the Michigan Independent News Service, labor publicity bureau. Employers compel workers to carry life insurance on a group basis, the news service charges. In return for this the insurance company agrees to carry free of charge the employers' compensation insurance and thus the worker indirectly pays for his own compensation in violation of the law.

Aiding the Aged

The state of Massachusetts aided 16,802 aged men and women in the single month of last November, says the Association for Old Age Security. Since July 1, 1931, there had been 20,047 cases cared for by the bureau. By the end of last October, 7,254 aged men and women in need were granted pensions in New Jersey under the mandatory act which went into effect last July. The average pension so far is \$15.08. Final returns on the Mississippi referendum authorizing a constitutional amendment to establish an old age pension law in that state, show that while 275,297 voted against the measure, it received the support of 988,594.

Bran or Corn-flakes?

In a recent questionnaire in which 373 persons were asked about the "Kellogg Pact" 34 per cent replied that it had something to do with a breakfast food.

Let Them Die!

Philadelphia doctors considered a resolution calling on the City Council to reconsider its elimination of the post of city immunologist from the 1933 budget. The resolution was defeated, because free immunization took business away from the individual doctors.

Epworth Institutes in P. I.

Epworth League students of the institutes conducted in the Philippine Islands have been studying problems of war and peace and have taken an interest in disarmament petitions as well as opposition to compulsory military training in public schools. This year there are 116 senior Leagues in the Philippines, with 4,526 members, an increase of eight chapters and 339 members over last year's record.

Vienna Socialism Increasing

Vienna Social-Democrats carried out during the last weeks of the past year an intensive membership campaign, with the aim of adding 10,000 new members. The goal was exceeded, 13,087 new members being secured. Of the new members, 6,182 are men and 6,905 are women. The organizing ability of the party in this city and the hold socialism has obtained, are reflected in the fact that four-fifths of all the men and two-fifths of all the women who vote Socialist are Party members.

Where Is Peace?

One ironic outcome of the war between Bolivia and Paraguay in the Gran Chaco is the plight of the peaceful Mennonites, who some years ago left Canada and other places, where they felt militarism was too strong, and migrated to this remote region in the conviction that here the alarums of war and hatred could not penetrate.

Economic Nationalism

Thirty-five Chicago manufacturers have organized a "Made in America Club" in order to carry on a "Buy American" campaign. The club is being financed by the employers. Membership fee is \$200, which entitles the member to 1,000 automobile plates, 1,000 stickers, 5,000 lapel buttons, and 5,000 folders. The Hearst newspapers have endorsed the movement and the American Federation of Labor radio station, WCFL, has offered its broadcasting facilities to the club.

Headlines

Saving Their Homes

In Syracuse, N. Y., many home owners have been unable to pay their taxes because of unemployment. The mayor, Roland B. Marvin, has decided that these property owners shall be permitted to work out their unpaid taxes on city projects. Hundreds of families will thus be spared the disaster of losing their homes.

Movie Extras Cut

Motion picture extras have had their wages cut from \$7.50 to \$3 a day, due to the great number of unemployed vaudeville and stage employees on the West Coast who jump at a job at any price.

Freight Traffic Lowest

R. H. Aishton, president of the American Railway Association, announced Jan. 3 that the volume of freight handled by the steam railroads in the United States in 1932 was 24.4 percent below that of 1931, and was the lowest of any year since 1909.

Religion and Birth Control

An analysis of 2,000 cases according to religious affiliation, made in the *Birth Control Review* for December, 1932, shows that there is comparatively little difference between Protestants, Catholics, and Jews as to pregnancies terminated prematurely.

Record Corn Crop

Iowa's record corn crop is filling all elevator space and immense stocks are being stored in open cribs. Iowa raised 540,000,000 bushels of corn this year; 23,000,000 bushels were carried over from last year's crop. Most of this is fed to cattle and hogs.

Belgian Women

Women forged to the political front in Belgium in the recent elections and expanded Socialist gains to over 400 seats in municipal governments and to more than 200,000 votes. According to incomplete returns, 17 Socialist women councillors were elected. There will be one woman burgomaster, and at least three or four district Justices of the Peace are women. Sixteen women were candidates on the Socialist ticket for the national diet, out of whom four were elected to the lower house. This climaxes a campaign planned by the National Committee of Socialist Women in which over 100,000 copies of a special number of *Voix de la Femme* were distributed, as well as leaflets directed to housewives and domestic servants.

Canadian Queries

In the course of a report placed before the United Church of Canada by a commission appointed to study relations between the church and industry, the following words appear: "The economic and industrial situation grows more urgent. Established religion tends always to rationalize and sanctify the social situation in which it finds itself. What appalls one today is the lack of awareness, even on the part of our leaders, of the seriousness of the situation, the lack of intelligence and social imagination in coping with our pressing problems, and the apathy in the hearts of the great mass of our people inside of and outside the church. The situation will not wait. Will the conscience and vision of the church awaken soon enough to exercise in the crisis a socializing and Christianizing influence, soon enough to be potent in offering any direction or control to the forces of social revolution?"

Back to Barter

German cotton importers have arranged a deal with the Egyptian government by which \$2,000,000 worth of German fertilizers has been exchanged for Egyptian cotton. Further barterings are expected.

State Banking Pays

While private banks in North Dakota and throughout the nation were failing by the hundreds, the state bank established by the Non-partisan League earned a net profit of 19.6 per cent on its capital of \$2,000,000. The bank would have done even better had it not been lenient with farmers whose notes it carried, the state auditor reported.

Czech Tariff Protest

An energetic protest against the intention of the Czech government to impose new burdens on the consumers by increasing the duties on coffee, tea and rice, was made by Mr. Emil Lustig, President of the Ustredni Svaz, in an address delivered at the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Czech coöperatives. Such measures, he declared, could merely serve further to embitter the consumers. Mr. Lustig also expressed his regret at the abolition of the Ministry of Food, as the small protection afforded to the consumers by this Ministry would no longer be available. The Executive Committee passed a resolution condemning, as hostile to the interests of the consumers, all measures which are liable to raise the prices of necessities.

Municipal Power

Roseville, California, has this year the lowest tax rate in its history and probably the lowest in the state. This is due to the handsome profits shown every year by the city-owned electric light and power system.

Big Bank Profits

The 20 largest banks and trust companies in New York made nearly \$70,000,000 net profits in the first six months of 1932. Seven of the 20 were making more profits in 1932 than in 1931.

Youth and Crime

Youths under 24 made up 39 per cent of arrests in the United States in the last eight months, according to an analysis of the United States Bureau of Investigation. Theft was the most prevalent crime, disorderly conduct and vagrancy came next, and burglary followed.

Profits From Blood

The town of Steyr, in Austria, may escape the fate of hunger and distress that has fallen over so many communities of that unhappy land. Heavy orders for munitions of war, from Brazil and Portugal mainly, but from other countries as well, are given as the reason why life may once again boom in this ammunition-manufacturing center. Likewise the Skoda works, in Czechoslovakia, which have been running on reduced schedule, are to go back on a more "normal" schedule soon, large orders for war materials having come in.

Hungarian Socialists Gain

In the elections to local offices that took place in many Hungarian districts in the latter weeks of 1932, the Hungarian Social-Democrats won striking victories almost everywhere. At the election on December 18 in the Sopron district, 17 seats were won as against three held previously in Soprobánfalva, almost 100 per cent of all votes cast were secured in Harka, in Sopronkövesd an absolute majority of votes was obtained, and in Rakospalota the party's representation was increased from seven seats to 11. In the big rural districts of southeastern Hungary the Socialist candidates secured 2,894 votes out of 5,533, that is to say, an absolute majority, though owing to the peculiarities of the Hungarian election laws, they won only eight out of 30 seats. In Szontos the party was less successful, partly owing to the Kossuth Party, which, although professing to be democratic, allied itself with the government party in Szontos.

Wet Laws and Dry Tactics*

STANLEY HIGH

IT is no longer possible to label as Dry those who hold a certain attitude toward the 18th Amendment and its enabling legislation; or as Wet all those who do not. Any contact with opinion in what has heretofore been called the Prohibition camp leads to the conclusion that the Drys—so far as the legislative situation is concerned—are falling into three classifications. There are, first of all, those who stand for the present legislative set-up. They propose to tolerate no change save that which would strengthen the law we now have. This, of course, is the position of the most aggressive dry organizations, such as the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League. It is probably the position of a majority of those who throughout the last generation provided the most dynamic leadership in the fight on the liquor traffic. The Wet press, for at least a decade, has been trying to laugh off the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League. It is obvious to anybody who has seen them in action that they cannot be laughed off. And whatever the results of the present situation, it is safe to assume that when the smoke has cleared, these two organizations will be found still carrying the same banners.

There is a second and considerable group of Drys who are of the opinion that the legislative situation has got out of hand and that nothing can be done to direct it. They advocate a complete moratorium on political action on the ground that the Wets, given a free field, will destroy themselves; that a Wet-created system of liquor control would bring back the liquor traffic with so few restraints upon it that public sentiment would, in time, revolt and demand a return of Prohibition.

This reasoning is probably correct. It is enlightening to observe the quick shifts which have taken place in Wet strategy in the last few months. Six months ago, Wet leaders were loud in their protests against the saloon and eloquent in their demand for legislation that would be an aid to temperance. Six months ago that kind of talk appeared to be necessary. The election—besides giving great comfort to the foes of Prohibition—pretty effectively unmasked them. Overnight, yesterday's friends of temperance have become today's spokesmen for the liquor traffic. And their aim appears to be precisely the same as it was during the generation before Prohibition. They are out to get liquor on as free and unregulated a basis as it can be secured. A decade of liquor on that basis might convince the American people that the only way to handle this traffic is to outlaw it.

But to give rope to the Wets—even though they would hang themselves with it—is, I think, dangerous tactics. Such a program involves a period of national debauchery, and the debauch might bring back Prohibition as its morning-after. But Prohibition, at such a cost, would come too high. In particular it would come too high for those of us whose children would grow to maturity during that saturated interim.

THEN there is a third group of Drys who believe that some change in our present legislative set-up, though probably undesirable, is nonetheless certain. Now it should be pointed out, on behalf of this group, that it is made up of men and women whose attitude toward liquor has not changed. They were against pre-Prohibition liquor. They are against Prohibition liquor. But they have come to the conclusion that it is mistaken strategy to act as though the preservation of the 18th Amendment necessarily involves the elimination of the liquor traffic. They believe that a too-exclusive concentration on the law has involved the Drys in a too-general ignoring of liquor. They would like to see the Drys frankly join with whatever co-operative remnant of Wets can be found to write the best possible alternative to our present system, following the adoption of which system the fight against liquor—too largely abandoned after the adoption of the 18th Amendment—could once again be aggressively resumed.

I think that there is much to be said for this point of view. For one thing, it is realistic. Unquestionably, Prohibition is a far greater success than the nation's Wet press allows the public to believe. Had there been in our great cities, during the last five years, a few newspapers with journalistic ingenuity enough to dramatize the blatant misstatements and obvious inconsistencies of the Wets, we would have a different public sentiment on this question. The public, I believe, has come to a conclusion about the law which is not in accord with the facts. But that does not alter the fact that such a conclusion, apparently, has been reached. And I do not believe that Dry tactics or arguments which prevented the country from going wet are of a sort which now can turn it dry again. Moreover, even though the country could be re-dried by the same methods, we would still have to determine what sort of practical program was to be followed in the interim.

A bit of a reservation needs to be made at this point. The last election has been widely discounted by Drys and widely hailed by Wets as a "mandate." As a

* This is the second of a series of three articles dealing with Prohibition and its proposed alternatives.

Dry, I do not think it can be discounted. For one thing, nine states voted on the repeal of their state enforcement measures. In all nine the law was repealed—in some instances by a vote as high as ten to one. That is a loss too serious to be ignored.

ON the other hand, the present Wet interpretation of the results is equally far from the truth. The feverishness with which Wet leaders in Congress are trying to hurry through some modifying legislation is evidence of the belief that the country is not as Wet as it voted. The electorate, in November, was voting chiefly to put the "outs" in and the "ins" out. Iowa, for instance, is normally a Republican state by a large majority. There is, however, one county in Iowa which is just as staunchly Democratic as the state is Republican. In the last election Iowa went Democratic. But this one county went Republican. The voters wanted a change. They got it. Having got it, they are likely to revert, now, to normalcy.

Meanwhile, they have elected an overwhelmingly Wet Congress. When that Congress meets—either in special or regular session—one of the first items on its agenda will be Prohibition. If the present Congress puts through no change in the present system, the new Congress is almost certain to do so. The immediate practical question is not whether there will be a change but, rather, what kind of change there will be. I think the Drys have it within their power to help see to it that the change conserves much that has been gained under Prohibition and provides sure ground from which to advance again in the war on liquor.

Now, I have no plan to offer at this point. A good many proposals have been made. The conference of representative Drys which met recently at Atlantic City considered a number of these proposals but gave its endorsement to none of them. That conference, however, did lay down a principle by which liquor legislation could be appraised. Liquor laws, the conference declared, should be designed "to decrease the demand for and the consumption of intoxicating liquor."

That is reasonable. It can be endorsed, not only by the Drys themselves—as it was—but by all Wets who are honestly concerned to find a satisfactory solution to what admittedly is a serious social problem. Judged by that principle, it is not difficult to recognize the inadequacy of many of the proposals which have been laid before Congress.

IT is important to remember that the Wets for a decade have been proclaiming their devotion to precisely this ideal. They have been concerned—so they have told us—to decrease the demand for and the consumption of intoxicating liquor. Now they have an opportunity to demonstrate the seriousness of their protestations. If they mean what they said, the time has come to translate that meaning into legislative ac-

tion. Admittedly, that will not be easy. A great many things can be said for a variety of alternatives to Prohibition. It is not easy to demonstrate that any of them gives much promise of decreasing the demand for and the consumption of liquor. It particularly cannot be said that the Wets, in the full flush of their November victory, give much indication that they propose to write the liquor laws with any such objective in mind.

Whatever actually happens, there are, I think, several points which any plan that recognizes the above principle should have in mind. In the first place, there should be—to quote the Wets of six months ago—a guarantee against the return of the saloon. This perhaps can best be accomplished by a law which takes the private profit out of the liquor business. Liquor on a non-profit basis is bad enough. Liquor as a profit-making industry is worse. Anyone at all familiar with the advertising plans of the liquor interests—already made—or with the liquor advertising in Quebec, will understand what will be involved in a re-establishment of the commercial liquor traffic.

Again, a law designed to eliminate, not encourage, liquor will probably vest authority over the traffic in the Federal government. Liquor is and always has been made more than a local problem. The liquor traffic has never been adequately kept in hand by exclusively state action. It probably never will be. If Dry states are to be protected against the traffic in states that are Wet, some form of Federal control will have to be maintained to insure that protection. Moreover, if any standards are to be upheld in territories that vote to go Wet, some form of Federal and state coöperation will probably have to be devised to uphold them.

I have no idea, of course, that any such suggestions as these will receive serious Wet consideration. The spokesmen for the Wet point of view are no longer the "friends of temperance," but the Brewer's Lobby which has re-established itself at the Capitol. If Congress is stampeded, which seems altogether possible, the legislation it writes will be liquor interests' legislation. And whether we want it or not, the country will be in for a period of liquor-at-its-worst. A repeal resolution, dictated by the brewers, might fail of ratification. But that failure would probably lead us into an era of nullification more serious than any we have experienced to date. And conditions, conceivably, might then be worse than if the Amendment itself were repealed.

Meanwhile, regardless of the legislative situation, the Drys can reform their lines for the war on liquor. The Atlantic City conference drew up the general outlines for a 25-year plan of temperance education. Such a plan, employing an up-to-date technique and with a factual rather than a propaganda basis, might make it possible to move forward toward the outlawry of liquor even during a period when, legislatively, the situation may seem to involve retreat.



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Trotsky's Classic

History of the Russian Revolution. By Leon Trotsky, translated by Max Eastman. Simon and Schuster. Volumes Two and Three. \$3.50 each.

THE second and third volumes of Trotsky's history maintain the high level set in the first, which dealt with the history of the Russian revolution up to the February insurrection and the collapse of czarism. The second volume is concerned with the regime of Kerensky, and the final volume is naturally devoted to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks.

It is improbable that any one who was a chief participant in an event of major historical importance has written about it as brilliantly as does Trotsky about the Russian revolution. His fame as a revolutionist may die, but these volumes will make him immortal both as an historian and as a philosopher of history. While he has his own axes to grind, his desire to exhibit the perfection with which his and Lenin's strategy and tactics, both derived from a consistent Marxian philosophy, fitted the unfolding drama of Russian life, is so absorbing that it finally dwarfs all other interests.

Trotsky's chronicle completely destroys the theory that the Bolshevik revolution succeeded simply because Kerensky was a weak man and Lenin a strong one. The Kerensky regime was unstable from the beginning, and not even a strong man could have maintained it. It derived such power as it had from a combination of industrialists, bankers and moderate radicals. The bourgeois classes were unwilling to give the people either land or peace, and that meant that the government's authority was progressively destroyed among land-hungry peasants and peace-hungry soldiers. It maintained itself only as long as it succeeded in deluding the people with its formula of postponing the hopes of peasants and soldiers until the constituent assembly should take action.

As it became more and more obvious that the conservative faction in the Kerensky government desired neither peace nor agrarian reform and that the liberal faction did not have either the power or the political clarity to achieve any significant political objective, the prestige of the Kerensky government waned. It tried to maintain itself by calling in Kornilov to protect it against the workers and by calling in the workers to protect it against Kornilov and his fascism. In analyzing the political confusion and intellectual ineptness of this interregnum of Kerensky's with its brave words and sentimentalities, with its pathetic efforts to establish the semblance of power and prestige long after the realities had been destroyed, Trotsky employs his mordant wit with evident relish. His thesis is that the Kerensky regime was impossible because the bourgeoisie were not strong enough and were too completely involved in the discredited czarist regime to be able to establish a government of their own. They

needed the coöperation of the workers but were not willing to grant what the workers wanted. The mensheviks and social revolutionaries in Trotsky's drama are the poor deluded fools who thought they could wring important concessions from these cadets.

Trotsky's whole history is a brilliant development of the thesis that everything in the Russian revolution was inevitable, provided that there was someone present to anticipate the inevitable and bring it to birth. The heroes of this drama are the destiny of history itself; the common worker, who understands this destiny better than his leaders; Lenin, who understands it so well that he is able to give the worker a comprehension and articulation of his own unformed longings and thoughts; and finally Trotsky himself, who agrees with Lenin on all essential points, without being slavishly bound to him. Some skillful historical work is devoted to the task of revealing both his spiritual independence from, and essential unity with Lenin. As Trotsky records the history, one is able to visualize the self-destruction of the Kerensky regime as well as of the czarist regime. One sees how true it is that all civilizations commit suicide; but also that they can prolong a living death if no one is at hand to give them a final death thrust. This he holds to have been the function of the Bolsheviks.

In describing how he and Lenin prevented the worker from initiating an insurrection in July before the time was ripe, and how they led them to an insurrection in October against the counsels of men like Kamenev and Zinoviev because they now believed the time to be ripe, Trotsky is at his brilliant best. The revolutionary leader, he declares, has the function of a midwife. He must not mistake the second month for the ninth, but neither must he be tempted by fear to deny the evidences that the ninth month has arrived. He must not be premature because he must let the old destroy itself as much as possible. He must accurately gauge the popular support behind him and estimate when it will be at its height. He must not depend upon majorities, the kind of majorities revealed in an election; but he must be certain that a majority of the politically active elements are with him. His judgment must be guided by both intuition and experience, but both of these must be under the control of an adequate philosophy of history, without which he will go astray as the poor mensheviks and social revolutionaries did.

What instruments shall be used for the revolutionary task? Merely the revolutionary party? Or the soviets, which were the organization's tools for the purpose of affecting the masses outside of the party? In analyzing this problem, Trotsky reveals how questions of strategy and tactics hold as much interest for him as problems of the philosophy of history. "The party," he declares "sets the soviets in motion, the soviets set in motion the workers, the soldiers and to some extent the peasants. What was gained in the mass was lost in speed. If you represent this conducting apparatus as a system of cogwheels—a comparison to which

Lenin had recourse at another period on another theme—you may say that the impatient attempt to connect the party wheel directly to the gigantic wheel of the masses—omitting the medium-sized wheel of the soviets—would have given rise to the danger of breaking the teeth of the party wheel and nevertheless not setting sufficiently large masses in motion."

Trotsky's historical and ethical judgments, all oriented by a cynical political realism which preserves a complete inner integrity, are as brilliant as his discussions of tactics and strategy. One of his choice bits is his description of Kropotkin, the anarchist and internationalist, who came out on the side of Kornilov. He draws conclusions from Kropotkin's stand which are a searching criticism of all liberalism: "Liberalism can have a real existence only in conjunction with a police system. Anarchism is an attempt to cleanse liberalism of the police. But just as pure oxygen is impossible to breathe, so liberalism without the police principle means the death of society. Being a shadow caricature of liberalism, anarchism as a whole has shared its fate. . . . Like every sect which founds its teaching not upon the actual development of human society but upon a reduction to absurdity of one of its features, anarchism explodes like a soap bubble when social contradictions arrive at the point of war or revolution." Quite decidedly this history of Trotsky's is a work that must be read. It is a classic.

R. N.

Jesus Through Modern Eyes

Jesus After Nineteen Centuries. By Ernest Fremont Tittle. Abingdon Press. \$2.00.

ADMIRERS of Doctor Tittle, who is known for his fearless advocacy of the application of the ethical ideals of Jesus to contemporary society, will be interested in the striking statement found in the preface of this collection of his "Yale Lectures on Preaching." "After years of study of the New Testament with the aid of modern scholarship and with a sincere endeavor to take full account of every difficulty which such study is bound to reveal, I am more than ever convinced that for our generation Jesus is, indeed, 'the real and living way.' Indeed, I am personally convinced that we must follow him or perish in a world-wide catastrophe."

Jesus is seen by the author, first of all, as light for men. "We may be very sure that Christianity would not have been born had there been nothing new in Jesus, and we may be equally sure that it would not have survived had there been nothing old in Jesus." Doctor Tittle has little sympathy with the scholar who presents Jesus "with an extraordinary display of historical scholarship, but with no marked display of spiritual insight." He will have nothing to do with such work, which after all "is the portrait of a man who would hardly have been able to initiate a small town revival, much less a movement which has placed a new glory in the face of mankind." He insists that the teachings of Jesus are grounded in the very nature of things: "Jesus believed that love is in the nature of things, that it is final truth, ultimate reality, the rock-bottom fact about the universe. He believed, therefore, that love should govern all the aims and relations of men; and from first to last he allowed it to govern his own life. That is what constituted the epic-making uniqueness of Jesus and caused history to be re-dated with reference to him: not his specific sayings, many of which have been spoken before, but a life utterly controlled by the faith that love, being final truth, ultimate reality, is the one redemption and hope of mankind."

Doctor Tittle discussed the humanism of Jesus in thoughtful fashion. He turns his attention to the larger loyalty which he sees in loyalty to men, manifested in treating the human being in accord with the spirit of Jesus. He shows that man unfortunately wishes that which he selfishly desires, even though theoretically assenting to the proposition that he is interested in the welfare of mankind. "We do not want war, but we want the lion's share of this world's raw materials; and we want tariffs which will benefit us at whatever cost to our national neighbors; and we want our own nation to be accorded an unchallenged supremacy among the great powers of the world; and we want on occasion to assert our own racial sense of superiority before the eyes of every other race that inhabits the earth."

Doctor Tittle sees in the family one of the greatest of social institutions, "but Jesus detected in family life a subtle and serious danger, the danger of a lesser loyalty usurping the place of a greater loyalty." His criticisms of the Russian method of attaining the welfare of mankind is brilliant: "It is the hope of a war to end war applied to the social struggle, and the vanity of that hope we now have superabundant reason to know." "You cannot maintain a great vision by developing a mentality which is crowded by hate. You cannot secure justice by doing injustice. You cannot reap peace by sowing strife."

The chapter on "Overcoming Evil" is a thoughtful presentation of the pacifism of Jesus which Doctor Tittle has revealed so courageously in his person. In the chapter on "The Necessity of the Cross" the author declares that Protestantism is in an anaemic condition. "Even when it convinces it fails somehow to inspire. Today liberal Protestantism is restoring the cross to its churches—a fact to rejoice in; for the cross, undeniably, is one of the greatest of all religious symbols, the expression at once of man's highest idealism and his most creative faith. But some of us are beginning to suspect that what, more than anything else, liberal Protestantism needs to do is to restore the cross to its way of life." In criticizing extreme humanism, Dr. Tittle declares, "A philosophy which begins by denying the existence of God and affirming the greatness of man ends by denying the significance of man and affirming the futility of life."

The concluding chapters are "Satisfying Man's Hunger for Life" and "A Creative Faith." In the former a single sentence goes to the root difficulty of certain phases of modern psychology: "What follows is, rather, the conclusion that happiness lies in the satisfaction, not merely of some one instinct, but of the total self. The trouble with the sensualist is not that he has undertaken to satisfy his hunger for food or for sex, but, rather, that he has undertaken to do so in ways that leave unsatisfied his hunger for self-respect." In the last chapter Dr. Tittle declares, "Now in my judgment there is no ground for hope that we shall ever have the courage to take the way of Jesus unless we develop the faith of Jesus."

The lectures which compose this volume are written in lucid style. They are thought-provoking. They present the religious message of one of America's great preachers and do so in such fashion that fundamental questions must be answered, and with such compulsion that conduct must be squared with the ethics of Jesus. The book deserves the widest audience, since it is not written for theological students alone, but is designed to reach the thinking of the people at large, in order that the ideals of Jesus may become a ruling force in society.

G. BROMLEY OXNAM

CORRESPONDENCE

Inspired by Niebuhr's Book

FROM the reviews which I have read of Reinhold Niebuhr's new book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, I have gained the impression that the most significant thing about the book is either its ethical justification of violence or its tendency to sound the minor note. Personally, I want to testify that its impress upon me has been quite the reverse. I feel as if a prayer had been answered which was the burden of my soul's cry. Never have I seen more hope in the American Protestant situation, never more promising light for the future! Why? It would be difficult to explain.

The liberal, of course, would never understand my mood, for I would be rejoicing at the collapse of his romantic structure of faith. But Niebuhr has found the Achilles' heel of the modern religious situation, and the tantrums of the wounded liberal will be interesting to see and pitiful to watch. Niebuhr has said what needed to be said. I am happy to know that this intellectual giant has had the courage to say to those who have long looked to him for guidance the things that he did. The placid waters of liberalism will be ruffled for many a year by the huge boulder he has heaved into them. I even dare to believe that we are now at the turning point in our thinking, at the threshold of a definitely new departure in religious intellectual activity. And that approaching controversy will be purging, as by fire.

The chief contribution of this volume is its offer of theological as well as anthropological realism. From now on, the retreat—or advance?—from an adolescent Kingdom-of-Godism of the romantic last century will be rapid. There is no hope for it. Niebuhr has driven a wedge into our easy monistic identification of the Kingdom of God with culturalism so forcefully that the two will have to be critically separated. That will undoubtedly make for a new departure in the social technique of progressive Christianity. While it will not absolutely divorce God from the world, it will make for a more tremendous theological cultus in social strategy. It will produce repentance and a greater religio-social dynamic. It will make us separate more critically the absolute goals of eternity from the relative and gainable goals of human justice in matter-of-fact situations. It will stop this everlasting pronouncement of the "principles of Jesus"—whatever and wherever they are!—which were originally intended as personal religious goals, hardly as a constitution for a utopia!

Such emerging political and social realism will redeem the churches from their nauseating attempts to produce almost absolute goals in a relative world of constant change, a world that has its own nature and its own character. We will be able again to redeem the personal individual Gospel. And in so doing, we shall be the better able to work for the betterment of the world without the constant overshooting and restraining influence which has throttled absolute pacifists and made for a sentimental asceticism based upon an absolutely transcendent foundation. The original religious dualism will again return to give vigor and tension to Christian social strategy, a dualism which is certainly no compromise any more than Jesus' injunction to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.

Niebuhr sees that there must be some sort of eschatology in a vital Christian social Gospel. His main thesis is therefore *not* pessimistic of history. His thesis will seem so only to those who

have the idea that the Kingdom is a mere utopia that can be produced by men in the realm of time. It will be distasteful to those whose naïveté has almost made them blind to the fact of the evil of the world and the absolute freedom of reality. These romantic liberals, who have practically dissolved the idea of the Kingdom dominant in Jesus into a cultural humanism will need the sting of this body blow of Niebuhr's.

Personally, I feel as if *Moral Man and Immoral Society* is not a finished piece of social theology. It is at best symptomatic. We should therefore reserve our labels of "pessimistic," "minor note" and "prophet of disillusion." Niebuhr has but *begun* to speak. He sees very clearly that before we can have any stamina in Protestant social action there must be an entirely different foundation from that which has been laid by liberalism. *The old wilderness must first be cleared.* It will not involve a reactionary return to orthodoxy, medieval and static. But it will involve the coming of a new living theology, with an objective base in the reality of man, the world and God. We are done with romantic illusions! Everything must be called in question on the basis of its ability to justify itself. Niebuhr is insistent on thinking the whole religious situation through. That is our present primary obligation.

Contrary to the reviewers' tantrums, therefore, I see in this volume the prelude to something promising. I never saw more light or hope. When once we have faced the reality of ourselves and of the world, not with the rose-tinted spectacles of a romantic ideology but with desperate, participative and existential realism, then we shall be on the way to recovery! Because Niebuhr faces us with the worst hell, I am enabled to see the highest heaven! A cold dose of pessimism is the best tonic and refreshment—that is, if you can live through a real dose of it! But to have to go through an intellectual hell! That is dangerous—and uncomfortable.

Indianapolis, Ind.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

For Strikers' Relief

STRICKEN with unemployment as this country is today, the areas of hope are where workers have taken their courage and the lives of their families into their hands to strike out for themselves against conditions which are beyond human endurance. In the mining regions of Illinois, West Virginia and Tennessee the situation is today sharp and bitter.

In Illinois the miners have organized themselves into the Progressive Miners of America. Some operators have settled with the union, but the powerful Peabody-Insull coal interests around Taylorville and Springfield look to the exploited Kentucky coal region to break the strike of the miners in Illinois. Miners at work—most of them work part time—contribute one dollar from each pay to their relief fund. To make relief go as far as possible, miners' wives and daughters have organized themselves into Ladies Auxiliaries, set up soup kitchens, fed hundreds of school children in each mining town at least one hot meal a day, remade old clothing to fit, and have stretched every cent, every bean, every piece of cloth as far as humanly possible. To discourage their work, county officials and company thugs have been beating these women up and throwing them into jails. The fight in Illinois is a fight for a progressive, militant organization of miners and their families, instead of for an entrenched officialdom. At least 10,000 miners and their families in Central Illinois today are utterly dependent on the money and clothes our committee can send them within the next few weeks.

Our plea is simple and direct. We know in your own midst there is suffering which must be assuaged. But friendless miners, sometimes lacking in hope, shut up in their tents or little houses crowded with children, need money and clothing in their struggle against the organized operators. We must give now and be ready to supply funds and clothing when spring comes.

Please send money and clothing at once to Room 1105, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Make checks payable to the Committee or to Norman Thomas, chairman.

NORMAN THOMAS, *Chairman*

Who's Who in This Issue

Robert P. Tristram Coffin, poet and biographer, is the author of several volumes of verse.

Aurel Kolnai is a well-known Catholic writer in Germany and is a member of the Social Democratic Party.

Forrest Revere Black is a professor of law in the University of Kentucky and the author of numerous works on legal subjects.

Stanley High, former editor of the Christian Herald, is the author of "The New Crisis in the Far East".

G. Bromley Oxnam is president of De Pauw University in Greencastle, Indiana.

This Week's Anniversary

HAVELOCK ELLIS

BORN FEBRUARY 2, 1859

The mother who seeks to soothe her crying child preaches him no sermon. She holds up some bright object and it fixes his attention. So it is the artist acts: he makes us see. He brings the world before us, not on the plane of covetousness and fears and commandments, but on the plane of representation; the world becomes a spectacle. Instead of imitating those philosophers who with analyses and syntheses worry over the goal of life, and the justification of the world, and the meaning of the strange and painful phenomenon called Existence, the artist takes up some fragment of that existence, transfigures it, shows it: There! And, therewith the spectator is filled with enthusiastic joy, and the transcendent Adventure of Existence is justified. Every great artist, a Dante or a Shakespeare, a Dostoevsky or a Proust, thus furnishes the metaphysical justification of existence by the beauty of the vision he presents of the cruelty and the horror of existence. All the pain and the madness, even the ugliness and the commonplace of the world, he converts into shining jewels. By revealing the spectacular character of reality he restores the serenity of its innocence. We see the face of the world as of a lovely woman smiling through her tears.

—From *The Dance of Life*



POMP and ceremony I can easily dispense with. But it seems to me that great steps forward in mechanical invention should be publicized in such a way as to demonstrate, from the very start, their usefulness to the human race. I don't know just what was done to signalize the first day on which the cumulative wisdom of the Orient burst forth with a completed wheel; I rather hope that the inventor rode a couple of them to call on his best girl. But no—probably the genius who first devised the strap drill for making fire did nothing more picturesque than point to the initial flame and utter a monosyllabic grunt of satisfaction. When Nathan Stubblefield, back in the dim days of 1902, stuck a pair of iron rods into the ground and carried his voice by wireless telephone, all he did was to count from one to ten. I'd be willing to wager that the moment the great Gutenberg Bible was bound and ready for exhibition, the master himself and his three apprentices sat down, wiped their brows, and cried with one voice: "*Lass' gehen! Beer for four!*" I do know that the Reverend William Lee, who invented the stocking frame, became obsessed with the need for machine knitting when he found that the young lady upon whom he desired to lavish affection spent all of the time during his calls in dutiful hand knitting. To Queen Elizabeth, after three years, he brought his invention; but she turned it down because it wouldn't knit silk stockings, and mechanical knitting of woolen hose would spread unemployment—she had this on the authority of one of her leading technocrats. By and by, Lee invented a machine for knitting silk stockings too, and I have no doubt that his first exclamation was, "I guess that'll hold her, the old wry-neck!"

I WASN'T present when Galileo dropped the half-pound weight and the hundred-pound cannonball off the leaning tower of Pisa. I have, however, leaned over that rail in the very spot, and I'm rather certain that what he said was, when the weights landed at the same time: "'Twouldn't take much to fall over, myself. Guess I'd better go back and sit down before I prove too much. 'S'a hot day, too."

Samuel Morse, inaugurating the telegraph, flashed first along the wires: "What hath God wrought?" Call that self-conscious formality though you may, I like it better than our present radio customs. Imagine Lindbergh on that startling flight, swooping down triumphantly on Le Bourget. Science had made another great stride—would the attendants kindly unload his five barrels of garbage? Or suppose Peary, struggling over icy ridges, had reached the North Pole and then, with appropriate solemnity, had dedicated his achievement by planting a cache of Wiggly's chewing gum, Old Moulds, and Makes-a-dent toothpaste? New York, which just gave a demonstration, via Roxy, of how a mountain of money and the mighty mind of man can use an enormous edifice to launch a program of glorified idiocy, has now contributed another bit of progress. On January 19, one of the big radio systems projected a voice from the top of the Chrysler Building to its own studios, half a mile away, not by radio wave but by a beam of light. From here it was transmitted to listeners in the usual way. Engineers called the event "epoch-making". A whole army of expert technicians prepared the apparatus and watched with bated breath (use no gum but Cheapnut) while a new era of science was ushered in. And then it was memorialized by a rather likeable but trivial singer of trivial songs, beginning with a particularly trivial strain of indigo jazz. It all reminds me of that story, perhaps apocryphal, about Emerson. "Have a cherry?" someone asked him, in the middle of the morning. He looked at it cynically. "Why," he inquired, "should I start up all this highly complicated machinery of digestion, just for a single cherry?"

Eccentricus

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"

MORAL MAN ^{AND} IMMORAL SOCIETY

A Study in Ethics and Politics

by Reinhold Niebuhr

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by
**Reinhold
Niebuhr**

Editor
**The World
Tomorrow**

MAN as an individual, says Dr. Niebuhr, is generally idealistic—a moral character—but collectively mankind is immoral. That is one reason why the world finds itself in the situation now existing. The highest ideals which the individual may express are ideals which he can never realize in social and collective terms.

People will not want to believe the ideas presented in this book. Nobody ever wants to believe it is

necessary to have an operation. But, in the present social crisis, as in the case of an operation, he who believes in surgery soonest has the greatest chance to survive.

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